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MINUTES

OF THE

NINETEENTH SESSION

OF THE

American Convention

FOR PROMOTING THE

ABOLITION OF SLAVERY,

AND IMPROVING

THE CONDITION OF THE AFRICAN RACE,

CONVENED AT PHILADELPHIA,

On the Fourth day of October, 1825.

PHILADELPHIA:

PRINTED BY ORDER OF THE CONVENTION,

Atkinson & Alexander, printers.

1825.

MINUTES.

COMMON COUNCIL CHAMBER.

AT a meeting of the American Convention, for promoting the Abolition of Slavery, &c. held at Philadelphia, 10th month, (October) 4th, 1825, Daniel Raymond was appointed Chairman, and Thomas Shipley, Secretary.

Communications from the Providence, (R. I.) Society, for promoting the Abolition of Slavery, from the New-York Manumission Society, from the Pennsylvania Society, for promoting the Abolition of Slavery, &c. &c., from the Anti-Slavery Society of Maryland, and from the Manumission Society of Tennessee, were received, by which it appears that the following persons are appointed Delegates to the Convention, viz.

Providence.

Hector Coffin.

New-York.

Cadwallader D. Colden,	Isaac Collins,
Robert C. Cornell,	Isaac M. Ely,
Israel Corse,	James Palmer.

Pennsylvania.

John Sergeant,	Edwin P. Atlee,
Jonas Preston,	Thomas Earle,
William Rawle, Jr.	Joseph W. Rowland,
Isaac Barton,	Caleb Carmalt,
Solomon Temple,	Thomas Shipley.

the sufferings and deprivations of the miserable victims of that oppressive system which still exists in some parts of our beloved country; seven societies formed for promoting the abolition of slavery and improving the condition of the African race, agreed upon the formation of a general convention: in order to strengthen one another in the prosecution of their common concern, and to disseminate more widely the sentiments with which they were so strongly impressed. Eighteen sessions of this convention of delegates from various quarters, have been held, and their proceedings have been published. The nineteenth is at hand; and we of the New-York society, encouraged by what has been effected, and seeing that much yet remains to be done, hope and trust that the united efforts of the friends of freedom will continue to be strenuous and unremitted, till the nation be fully awakened to a sense of the magnitude of the evil in question, and the foul stain of oppression no longer dim the escutcheon of our country's glory.

The conduct of individuals must ever be left in a great measure to the direction of individual opinion; the only legitimate object of civil government, and the interference of civil authority, being to promote the common good, the prosperity and happiness of the people, by the prosecution of works of public utility, and the protection of all against the encroachments of each. And, in a country like ours, where it is universally acknowledged in words, that "all men are born free and equal," and where the people (except one unfortunate class) claim and exercise "the sole and exclusive right of governing themselves as a free, sovereign and independent state"—in a country, where the voice of the people has an almost immediate influence on the conduct and character of the government, and where no public authority can stand without their assent—all changes and reforms must be wrought through the medium of conviction brought home to the bosoms of individuals.

But abuses that have become inveterate by time, that are interwoven with the very constitution of society, that are strengthened by habit and prejudice, that are supported by the strong ties of interest, that have been long submitted to with little remonstrance, and that by their own worst influence, render men insensible to their enormity; however glaring they may seem to those who view them more abstractedly, however grievous they may be to those who suffer under them, and however portentous they may appear to those who discuss the signs of the times, cannot be supposed to admit of a speedy, easy, and safe redress. A long, and patient, and vigorous exertion of the best talents, must be required for their entire removal. Such we apprehend to be the case with slavery in this country. It cannot be safely eradicated, but by cautious and progressive measures steadily pursued. It must require much labour so to pourtray, and present the subject to the minds of the many who must act or acquiesce in the measures adopted, as to bring conviction home, and prompt them to declare in favour of emancipation. But the works is in train, and much has already been achieved; and we ardently desire to see it carried on to its consummation. In our own State, slavery will be abolished on the 4th of July, 1827; and, the minds of our citizens being gradually prepared for this event, we doubt not it will be met with a cheerful acquiescence. We trust, that the time is not far distant, when other States will be prepared to adopt such a measure. And we hope, that the opponents of slavery in all those States which have not yet fixed the date of its extinction, will not relax their efforts, till the work of emancipation is accomplished throughout the Union.

We believe that the maintenance of the convention will contribute towards the accomplishment of the great end we have in view. All exertions by which the public mind is to be influenced and public measures are to be effected,

require knowledge, counsel, union, and co-operation. As individuals, we can do but little; but while the societies instituted for promoting manumission are maintained, the exertions of the intelligent and judicious may be extensively influential. The cause is worthy of the tongue of eloquence, and the pen of the ready writer. We commend it to all who possess the secret of persuading men's minds. It is the cause of justice, of honour, of humanity, of MAN.

The curse of slavery pursues the descendants of slaves from generation to generation. And when the work of emancipation is effected, all is not done which justice demands of those who have been the means of their degradation. Personal liberty is of little avail to him who is the slave of ignorance and vice. This truth, which has been so often perverted, and made the basis of a sophism in extenuation of the enslaving of negroes, ought ever to be regarded as a sound reason, and the basis of a sacred obligation, to bestow upon them more than that personal liberty which is every man's natural birth-right. Without some degree of literary, moral, and religious instruction, no person can rise to respectability in civilized society. The want of such instruction, together with the positive influence of low and vicious example, is sufficient to account for all the intellectual and moral inferiority of our free coloured population.

The maintenance of the schools under the care of this society, is now the principal, if not the most important object of our attention. And we have the satisfaction to state, that these institutions continue to flourish, and to afford convincing evidence of their own ability. The average number of coloured children of both sexes, reported from time to time, during the last two years, as belonging to these schools, is 711. They are instructed in reading, writing, arithmetic, a few in grammar and geography, and the larger girls, in needle-work. Endeavours are used to train

them to correct moral habits, and to imbue their minds with the general truths of christian doctrine.

Our standing committee continue their attention to such instances of the violation of the laws respecting slaves, as come within their knowledge. Since the last session of the convention, in 1823, they have taken notice of 73 cases of complaint. In twenty-two of these cases, the applicants obtained their freedom; in sixteen, no relief could be offered; in ten, there appeared to be no real cause of complaint; in fourteen, the requisite information was not obtained, and eleven remain yet under care.

We have appointed Cadwallader D. Colden, Isaac Collins, Robert C. Cornell, Isaac M. Ely, Israel Corse and James Palmer, to represent us in the approaching convention.

The following is a list of our Officers for the current year:

Cadwallader D. Colden,	*President.*
George Newbold,	*1st Vice-President.*
Peter Augustus Jay,	*2d Vice President.*
Goold Brown,	*Secretary.*
Thomas P. Brown,	*Assistant Secretary.*
Robert C. Cornell,	*Treasurer.*
Joseph Corles,	*Register.*

Barney Corse,	*Chairman,*	Of the Standing Committee.
Oliver Hull,	*Secretary,*	
John R. Willis,	*Chairman,*	Of the Board of Trustees.
William W. Mott,	*Secretary,*	
Dr. John Stearns,	*Chairman,*	Of the Committee of Correspondence.
Robert F. Mott,	*Secretary,*	
Joshua Underhill,	*Chairman,*	Of the Committee of Ways and Means.
Mahlon Day,	*Secretary,*	

COUNSELLORS,

C. D. Colden,	Benjamin Clark,
Peter A. Jay,	William Slossen,
William Johnson,	Thomas A. Emmett,
Isaac M. Ely,	Ira Clizbe.

Signed by direction and on behalf of a meeting of the New York Manumission Society, held 10th Month, 1st. 1825.

CADWALLADER D. COLDEN, *President.*

GOULD BROWN, *Secretary.*

To the American Convention for promoting the Abolition of Slavery, and improving the condition of the African Race.

The Pennsylvania Society for promoting the Abolition of Slavery, &c. in addressing the Convention at this time, feel much pleasure in adverting to the continued progress of the principles of liberty; and earnestly desire that the exertions of the opponents of Slavery and oppression may be commensurate with the importance of the cause they have espoused.

When we take a review of the long continued exertions of our brethren in England to abolish the Slave trade, and the signal success which at last crowned their efforts, and when we see this band of philanthropists, with accumulated numbers, combining their strength to eradicate Slavery itself from the British dominions, we feel a glow of enthusiasm to emulate their virtue and perseverance.

The just and magnanimous conduct of the Colombian government in abolishing Slavery, we trust will not be lost on the United States. In a population of three millions, it is stated by Ravenga, that Blacks and Indians amounted

to nine hundred thousand; of these a large number were emancipated by individuals at once; Boliver gave liberty to seven hundred, and others acted in a similar manner. By a law of the state the children were all made free, on the adoption of the Constitution; and for the liberation of the adults, a legacy duty was levied on all disposable property, varying from three to ten per cent; which fund can never be appropriated to a different object, so long as a slave remains in the state, and which is rapidly producing its intended effects. It is important to observe that the noble example thus set to older nations has been attended with the best effects; although at the time the country was overrun with hostile armies, and the masters were frequently obliged to abandon their property, the docility on the part of the blacks was never so conspicuous, and the confidence and security of the whites greater than at any previous period. In Bencoolen, in Ceylon, and in the island of St. Helena the same experiments have been tried and with the like happy results. Although comparatively little has been done in the United States for some years, to abolish slavery or even to mitigate its horrors, yet we are satisfied that the labours of the friends of liberty have not been lost; the minds of the people have been gradually preparing for a change in the situation of the slaves, and new societies for abolishing slavery have sprung up in the midst of slave-holders, and it is confidently hoped, that ere long, two more states will have erased that stain from their escutcheon.

The existence of slavery and of the slave trade within the United States, is at variance not only with our declaration to the world when we became an independent nation but in direct contradicton to the facts assumed by Congress in the acts relating to the foreign slave trade; for can it be supposed that the same nation who punished her citizens with death for buying and selling the natives of Africa, would yet permit a trade in the descendants of Africa born on her

own soil, and whose labours and sweat had contributed to fill her coffers? and when we pronounced the slave trade to be piracy, did we not forever extinguish our title to a slave? for is he not the product of that traffic?

The sectional jealousies created by this iniquitous system, the trembling anxieties of some of the states lest their usurped rights should be infringed, and the repeated violations of the Constitution to protect the master from the slave, indubitably prove that the evil has attained its crisis and calls loudly for a remedy.

Impressed with the strongest belief, that slavery in the United States is upheld principally by ignorance and prejudice, we do not hesitate to believe, that were our deluded fellow citizens fully to examine the subject, as well in relation to its immoral effects on society, as in relation to its tendency to reduce the value of land, repress improvements, and discourage the industrious poor; and above all, were they sensible of the awful responsibility of entailing on innocent children the slavery of their mothers, they would rejoice in the opportunity of restoring them to their natural rights.

The practice of kidnapping free persons of colour, still continues to prevail, and we are not without a fear, that in some cases, free persons are claimed as slaves before judicial tribunals with an intention of depriving them of their liberty by false testimony: in other instances, persons indented as apprentices have been carried into slave states and sold into bondage: in those cases where proof could be obtained, our acting committee have afforded the necessary assistance.

It has been a frequent taunt in the mouths of slave holders, that the avarice of their opposers prevailed over their scruples, in partaking of the profits of slavery; it has, therefore, become necessary for us seriously to consider whether we are not materially contributing to this iniqui-

tous system by using its products and sharing in its gains. The products of slavery having become objects of speculation, the domestic slave trade has received a new impulse; large numbers of these unfortunate persons have been transported in vessels coastwise, as well as driven in chains from one state to another: may we not fear that He whose ear is open to the cry of the oppressed, will visit this national crime with a national punishment?

The abolition of slavery within the District of Columbia has again claimed our attention, and we cannot avoid the reflection, that had the opponents of slavery more frequently presented the subject to the view of Congress, it would not now disgrace our statute book.

The several schemes of colonization in Africa and emigration to Hayti, have been frequently under our consideration, but we have not been able to discover the splendid advantages held forth by their advocates, and have, in consequence, refrained from using any influence to promote their views. The society have noticed with much pleasure the recent recognition of the government of Hayti by the court of France; this has removed one of the greatest obstacles to the happiness of that republic, and we hope will render it at a future period, a suitable asylum to such of our coloured fellow citizens as may choose to emigrate thither.

The situation of the free coloured population has continued to claim our attention, and we have the satisfaction to believe that their situation is gradually improving. The education of their offspring has always been a favourite object with this society: about one hundred and seventy children, of both sexes, are instructed in our Hall, one half of whom are under the charge of "The Association of Friends for the education of poor children." 250 Children are in the public school, besides a large number in private seminaries, and we confidently hope, that as the rising generation take the place of their parents, (many of whom had acqu-

red the most depraved habits previous to their emancipation,) the advantages of their instruction will be manifest in the correctness of their conduct.

The intercourse maintained between the several societies by means of the Convention, we believe tends to encourage those who are striving "as in the front of the battle," and we ardently desire that the Convention may embrace every suitable opportunity to advance the righteous cause, "to break the bonds of the enslaved, and let the oppressed go free."

We have appointed the following persons Delegates to the Convention, and subjoin a list of the Officers of this Society:

Delegates—John Sergeant, Jonas Preston, Thomas Shipley, William Rawle, jr., Isaac Barton, Joseph W. Rowland, Edwin P. Atlee, Solomon Temple, Caleb Carmalt and Thomas Earle.

Signed by direction and on behalf of the Pennsylvania Society for promoting the Abolition of Slavery, for the relief of free Negroes unlawfully held in bondage, and for improving the condition of the African race.

W. RAWLE, *President.*

Philadelphia, 10*th mo.* (*Oct.*) 4*th*, 1825.

SAMUEL MASON, Jr. *Secretary.*

OFFICERS.

President	William Rawle Esqr.
Vice-Presidents,	Joseph M. Paul, and Jonas Preston.
Treasurer,	Henry Troth.
Secretaries,	Samuel Mason, Jr. and Edwin P. Atlee.

From the Anti-Slavery Society of Maryland.

This is to certify, that Daniel Raymond, Esq. was appointed by the Anti-Slavery Society of Maryland, at a meeting held at Baltimore, the 17th of September, 1825, as a representative of that association to the biennial meeting of the American Convention for promoting the Abolition of Slavery, and improving the condition of the African race, at its next session in Philadelphia.

By order of the Society,

P. ALLEN, *Vice Pres't.*

Attest,

EDWARD NEEDLES, *Secretary.*

From the Manumission Society of Tennessee.

This is to certify, that Benjamin Lundy was appointed by the Eleventh Convention of the Manumission Society of Tennessee, held at Lost Creek, Jefferson County, on the 15th of August, 1825, as a representative of that Association to the biennial meeting of the American Convention for promoting the Abolition of Slavery, and improving the condition of the African race, at its next session at Philadelphia.

Done by order of the Convention,

JAMES JONES. *President.*

Attest,

THOMAS DOAN, *Clerk.*

On motion, the following persons were selected as a committee of Arrangement, viz.

Hector Coffin, Israel Corse, Jonas Preston, Thomas Shipley, Daniel Raymond, B. Lundy and J. W. Rowland

The following Resolutions were presented by T. Earle, and on motion, ordered to lie on the table, viz.

1. "Resolved, That this Convention cordially approves of the proposition to appropriate the public lands of the United States to the Abolition of Slavery, and to the transportation of the emancipated persons of colour, to such country as they may choose for their residence."

2. "Resolved, That a committee be appointed to draft a memorial to Congress, expressive of the sentiments contained in the foregoing resolution."

3. "Resolved, That a committee be appointed to draft a memorial to Congress praying the Abolition of Slavery in the District of Columbia."

D. Raymond offered the following, viz.

"Resolved, That in the opinion of this Convention, the only effectual means of abolishing Slavery in the U. States, is by the passage of laws in the several states, fixing a day, after which, all persons born in the respective states shall be free at a certain age."

"Resolved, That this Convention recommend to the different Abolition Societies in the U. States, and to all individual who are friendly to the extirpation of Slavery from the U. States, to use their endeavours to procure the passage of such a law in the states in which they reside."

The following resolution was offered by J. W. Rowland, viz.

"Resolved, That a Committee be appointed to digest and propose a systematized plan for the direction of the efforts of the American Convention and the several Associations therein represented, in order to promote the objects for which they were instituted."

Which being read, was on motion, referred to the Committee of Arrangement, and J. W. Rowland added to that committee.

Jonas Preston and Thomas Shipley were constituted a Committee to examine the Treasurer's account, and procure from him the Books, Papers, Monies, &c. belonging to the Convention.

The following resolutions were presented by I. Barton, and ordered to be laid on the table, viz.

1. *Resolved,* That in the opinion of this Convention it is now incumbent upon the friends of the Abolition of Slavery in the United States, to give a decided preference to the products of free labour.

2. And that it is expedient that a moderate premium be offered on the articles of Sugar, Cotton, Rice and Tobacco, which are accompanied by satisfactory evidence that they are the products of the labour of Freemen.

W. Rawle, jr. offered the following resolution, viz.

Resolved, That the minutes of the Acting Committee be referred to the Committee of Arrangement to select such parts of them as it may think proper to insert in the Minutes of the Convention.

Which was read and adopted.

Adjourned to 4 o'clock, P. M.

4 o'clock, P. M

Convention met.—The President being absent, D. Raymond, Vice President, took the chair.

B. Lundy made some observations tending to explain the present state of the cause of abolition in Tennessee—from which it appeared that this cause is advancing in that state, and that the friends of freedom are encouraged steadily to pursue their object.

The following Report of the Committee of Arrangement was read, viz.

The Committee of Arrangement having examined and considered the several communications addressed to the Convention by the several societies represented,

REPORT:

That in these addresses they have found much useful and important information, well calculated to cheer and encourage the friends of humanity and of the oppressed African.

The subjects which, in the opinion of the Committee, will require the attention of the Convention, are, *in part*, as follows, viz.

1. *Resolved*, That a committee be appointed to consider and report on the best means to obtain the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia.

2. *Resolved*, That a committee be appointed to examine if any, and what further measures can be taken to prevent the illegal introduction of slaves into the United States.

3. *Resolved*, That a committee be appointed to enquire what are the best means for the abolition of slavery.

4. *Resolved*, That a committee be appointed to draft a memorial to Congress requesting them to recommend to the several states, to adopt measures for the extinction of slavery.

5. *Resolved*, That a committee be appointed to propose such measures as are best calculated to extend education among the coloured population.

Your committee has examined the minutes of the acting committee, and recommends that the circular address to humane and intelligent individuals and societies, be extracted and inserted at large on the minutes of this Convention—also the memorial addressed to the State Legislatures for promoting the abolition of slavery.

Signed, on behalf of the committee.

ISRAEL CORSE, *Chairman.*

And on motion, the Convention proceeded to consider said report by paragraphs.

The preamble and resolutions were all adopted except the 4th resolution, which, after considerable discussion, was, on motion, indefinitely postponed. The concluding section of the report was adopted.

The following are the committees on the several resolutions:

1st Resolution, D. Raymond, Solomon Temple and J. W. Rowland.

2d Resolution, B. Lundy, W. Rawle, jr. and Israel Corse.

3d Resolution, J. Preston, I. Barton, H. Coffin and J. W. Rowland.

5th Resolution, C. Carmalt, H. Coffin and T. Shipley.

Who are to report to a future meeting this session.

B. Lundy having presented the following resolution, it was, on motion, ordered to lie on the table, viz.

Whereas, this Convention has received the gratifying information, that the friends of the abolition of slavery have formed a number of new societies in several of the states to the south, particularly in Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina and Tennessee; and *Whereas*, it is considered of essential importance that all those societies which may desire it, shall be represented in this Convention:—Therefore, in order to render it more convenient for some of them to send delegates thereto,

Resolved, That at the end of the present session of this Convention, it will adjourn to meet again in the city of Baltimore, on the 25th day of 10th mo. (October,) 1826.

Then adjourned, to re-assemble to-morrow morning at 10 o'clock.

10th Month, 6th.

Convention met at the appointed time.

The report of the committee appointed on the 2d resolution, presented by the committee of arrangement, was read, and on motion, directed to lie on the table.

The resolution presented by B. Lundy was then called up, and on motion, the Convention was resolved into a committee of the whole, and Jonas Preston called to the chair, for the purpose of considering said resolution, which was adopted.

The following resolution, presented by Isaac Barton, was read, and on motion, adopted, viz.

Resolved, That the acting committee to be appointed hereafter, are hereby instructed to ascertain, as far as practicable, the names and places of location of all the Abolition and Manumission societies in the United States, and at a suitable time previous to the adjourned meeting of the present, and of the next session of this Convention, inform said societies of the time and place for holding the same, and request them to send delegates thereto.

The Convention then again resolved itself into a committee of the whole, Jonas Preston in the chair, to consider the resolution presented by D. Raymond.

The committee rose, reported progress, and obtained leave to sit again,—

Then on motion, adjourned to 3 o'clock, P. M.

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3 o'clock, P. M.

Convention met near the appointed time.

The President and Vice-President being absent, J. Preston was appointed Chairman, pro. tem.

The following report of the committee on the 3d resolution of the committee of arrangement, was read and ordered to lie on the table, viz.

The committee appointed "to enquire what means are best calculated to abolish slavery," respectfully

REPORT:

That they have endeavoured to give to the subject submitted to them, that attention which its importance merits; and agree to recommend to the Convention the following resolutions, viz.

Whereas, the abolition of slavery in the United States, must emphatically be the act of the people:—and *Whereas*, there is good cause to believe that this practice is now mainly upheld by mistaken self-interest, prejudice, and an incorrect estimate of its nature and tendency, and that much good would result from convincing the public mind in the slave-holding states, of the impolicy and injustice of slavery, therefore,

Resolved, That the acting committee be instructed to collect, digest, and circulate, throughout the slave-holding states, such facts and other information as is calculated to prove the impolicy of slavery, and the practicability, safety and advantage of emancipation.

And *Whereas*, all legislative measures, having for their object the extinction of slavery, should, as far as practicable, be the act of the respective State Legislatures, whose citizens will be principally affected by them, therefore,

Resolved, That the acting committee be instructed to prepare and transmit an address to Pastors, Teachers, and others engaged in the instruction of the human race:—and those, whose talents, or virtue has given them extensive public influence, requesting their aid in procuring the passage of such laws in their respective States, as shall fix a

period (as little remote as possible,) after which, all person of colour born in their respective States, shall be free at a certain age; And whereas, one strong practical illustration in the United States of the advantage of free over slave labour would have an important tendency to induce voluntary manumission—therefore,

Resolved, That a premium of dollars, or a medal of equal value (at the option of the successful candidate) be awarded to such inhabitant of the United States, as shall, within five years, from the present time, most clearly exemplify the comparative value of slave and free labour, by an accurate statement of the nett profits arising from the employment of his slaves, and the nett profits arising from the same number and description of persons when manumitted, or employed as freemen in his service, and in the same species of labour.

On behalf of the Committee,

JONAS PRESTON. *Chairman*.

Philadelphia, Oct. 6, 1825.

On motion, The Convention resolved itself itself into a committee of the whole, to further consider the first paragraph of the resolution submitted by D. Raymond. Jonas Preston in the chair.

The committee having reported further progress, obtained leave to sit again, when the Convention, on motion, adjourned till to-morrow morning, at 9 o'clock.

10th Month 7th, 1825.

At 9 o'clock, A. M. the Convention met.

A motion being carried to appoint a committee to examine the Constitution, and report what alterations are expedient to be made therein; the following persons were nominated to that service, viz.—Jonas Preston, Isaac Barton, and Joseph W. Rowland.

On motion, The following are appointed the acting committee of this Convention, viz.

Rhode-Island, Hector Collin.

New-York, Israel Corse.

Pennsylvania, Jonas Preston, William Rawle, jr. Isaac Barton, Solomon Temple, Joseph W. Rowland, Thomas Shipley, E. P. Atlee, Thomas Earle, and C. Carmalt.

Maryland, Daniel Raymond.

Tennessee, Benjamin Lundy.

On motion, The Convention resolved into a committee of the whole, on the resolution of D. Raymond. Jonas Preston in the chair.

The committee rose, and reported the first resolution amended, so as to read thus:—

Resolved, That in the opinion of this Convention, the most practicable means of effecting the complete extinction of slavery in the United States, is by the passage of laws in the several States, fixing a day, after which all persons of colour, born in the respective States, shall be free at a certain age.

Also, the second resolution, as originally offered, on motion, the Convention adopted both resolutions. T. Earle proposed the following, which was adopted viz.

Resolved, That by the passage of the foregoing resolutions, this Convention does not intend to discourage perseverance in all other possible methods of promoting the emancipation of slaves, whether by individuals or by governments; but would, on the contrary encourage them, as called for by every principle of justice, humanity and sound policy.

Joseph W. Rowland proposed the following, which was also adopted, viz.

Resolved, That the acting committee be directed to have the foregoing resolutions inserted in as many of the Newspapers of the United States, as may be practicable.

The following were offered by Isaac Barton, viz.

"*Resolved*, That the subscription for 10 copies of the Genius of Universal Emancipation, sanctioned by the last Session of this Convention, be, and the same is hereby continued for one year from this time, to be distributed at the option of the acting committee, viz.

"*Resolved*, That the acting committee be, and they are hereby directed to have printed and distributed, the number of 750 copies of the minutes of the proceedings of the present Session of the Convention," which were adopted.

The report of the committee on the 3d Resolution offered by the committee of arrangement, being now taken up, it was, on motion, agreed to consider it by paragraphs: the 1st and 2d paragraphs being read, were adopted.

The Convention, on motion, resolved into a committee of the whole, on the 3d paragraph.

The committee reporting progress, and obtaining leave to sit again this afternoon; on motion, adjourned to half past three o'clock, P. M.

Half past 3 o'clock, P. M.

Vice-President in the chair.

The following report of the committee, to examine the Treasurer's account, &c. was read and accepted, viz.

The committee appointed to settle the accounts of Abraham L. Pennock, late Treasurer, report, That they have examined his account and compared it with his vouchers, and find a balance due to him of $15 29. They have received from him the certificates and papers belonging to the Convention.

Resolved, That the present Treasurer be directed to pay the said balance

J. PRESTON,
THOMAS SHIPLEY.

10th Month, 7th. 1825.

DR. AMERICAN CONVENTION, &c. IN ACCOUNT WITH ABRAHAM L. PENNOCK, LATE TREASURER. CR.

1823.	To Cash to Benjamin Lundy, per		
12th. Mo.	order of Acting Committee,	$10	
12th,		34	
	To do. to B. and T. Kite, do.	44	20
19th,	To do. to Daniel Neall, do.	6	63
27th.	To do. to Thomas Shipley do.		
1824.	To do. to Philip Price, jr. do.	54	50
12th. Mo.	To do. to Atkinson & Alexan-		
11th.	der, do.	10	75
1825.			
10th. Mo.	To do. to do. do.	12	
4th.			
		$172	08
	To balance due A. L. Pennock,	15	29
	E. E.		

ABM. L. PENNOCK.

Philadelphia, 10*th Month*, 7*th*, 1825.

1824.	By Cash received from Jonas		
1st Mo.	Preston, former Treasurer,	$96	79
12th.	By do. from H. Troth, Trea-		
	surer of the Pennsylvania So-		
	ciety, amount of that Society's		
	draft in favour of the Conven-		
	tion, under date of 9th Month,		
	9th, 1819.	60	
	By balance,	15	29
	There remain due to the Convention,	$172	08
	two warrants on the Treasurer of the		
	Pennsylvania Society,		
	One dated 10th Month, 1st, 1821, for	40	
	The other, 10th Month, 8th, 1823,	30	
	Four dividends of $20 each, have ac-		
	crued on the 8 Shares, held by the		
	Convention, in the Stock of the Phi-		
	ladelphia Bank, which for want of a		
	requisite formality, have not been		
	collected:—They amount to	80	
	Outstanding,	$150	

EXAMINED AND APPROVED,

J. PRESTON,
THOMAS SHIPLEY.
Committee.

Philadelphia, 10*th Month*, 7*th*, 1825.

The following report of the committee on the 1st Resolution of the Committee of Arrangement was accepted, viz.

The committee appointed to consider and report on the best means to obtain the Abolition of Slavery, in the District of Columbia,

Report, That the extinguishment of Slavery in the District of Columbia is an object which ought always to engage the attention of the Convention, until its accomplishment, and the exertions of the several societies ought unceasingly to be directed towards its attainment. The only plan which occurs to your committee, as proper to be adopted at the present time, is, that the Convention recommend by a circular address to each of the existing societies favourable to the Abolition of Slavery in the United States, that they use their utmost exertions to procure the election of such representatives in Congress, as will promote the passage of a bill by the National Government, to abolish Slavery in that District after a certain period.

D. RAYMOND, *Chairman.*

The following resolution offered by S. Temple, was read and ordered to lie on the table, viz.

Resolved, That a committee be appointed to prepare an address to each of the societies, favourable to the Abolition of Slavery in the United States, that they exert themselves to promote the election of such representatives in Congress, as will use their influence in procuring the passage of a law to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, at a certain period.

On motion, the Convention was resolved into a committee of the whole, to consider the unfinished business of this morning--J. Preston, in the chair.

The committee rising, reported that after again considering the subject, they had concluded to return it to the Convention.

On motion, it was indefinitely postponed; as also, a modified resolution of Isaac Barton and T. Shipley.

On motion, adjourned to 10 o'clock to-morrow morning.

10*th Month*, 8, 1825, 10 *o'clock, A. M.*

Convention assembled.—Vice-President in the chair.

The committee on the 5th Resolution of the Committee of Arrangement, reported the following:

The committee appointed to propose such measures as are best calculated to extend education among the coloured population—

REPORT:

That they have given the subject some attention, but from the little time they have been able to devote thereto, they are not now prepared to recommend any measures in relation to it.

Respectfully submitted on behalf of the committee.

THOMAS SHIPLEY, *Chairman.*

Which was accepted, and they continued to report to the adjourned session to be held at Baltimore

On motion of Joseph W. Rowland,

It was *Resolved*, That the thanks of this Convention be respectfully presented to the Common Council of the City of Philadelphia, for the use of their chamber, during the present Session.

Resolved, That the Secretary be directed to transmit a

copy of the above Resolution to the President of the Common Council.

The following resolution, also submitted by Joseph W. Rowland, was adopted, and Joseph W. Rowland, B. Lundy and Thomas Shipley appointed the committee, viz.

Resolved, That the subject of the transportation of slaves, from one State to another, and the reception of the testimony of slaves in courts of justice, *quantum valeat*, be referred to a special committee, who shall report at the adjourned meeting of the Convention.

On motion, The resolutions of T. Earle and I. Barton, submitted on the 5th instant, were referred to the next Session. The following report of the committee to examine the Constitution, was accepted, and the resolutions thereto attached, ordered to lie on the table.

To the American Convention, for promoting the Abolition of Slavery, &c.

The committee appointed to examine the Constitution of the Convention, and suggest such amendments as they may deem necessary, respectfully

REPORT:

That, in the opinion of your committee, it is expedient to adopt the following alteration and addition, viz.

1st, That the word *and* immediately succeeding the word *Secretaries*, in Article 3d, be stricken out, and the words "*and three Counsellors*" be inserted in the same Article, immediately succeeding the word *Treasurer*, and preceeding the word *who*.

2d, That the following constitute section 6th, Article 1st, viz.

Section 6th, The Counsellors shall be ex-officio members of the Convention, and entitled to participate in its deliberations. They shall, when requested so to do, give their opinion upon such legal subjects as may claim the attention of the Convention.

On behalf of the Committee,

I. BARTON.

October 8th, 1825.

The following resolution offered by J. W. Rowland, was ordered to lie on the table, viz.

Resolved, That the 2d Article of the Constitution be amended, by striking out the words "*in the City of Philadelphia*," and inserting the words "in such place as the Convention may determine," after the word '*October*.'— The resolution of T. Earle was also ordered to lie on the table. On motion, the Convention concludes to rise, to sit again at Baltimore, on the 25th day of 10th month (Oct.) 1826.

To the American Convention for promoting the Abolition of Slavery, and improving the condition of the African Race.

The Acting Committee appointed by the late Convention, respectfully

REPORT:

That soon after their appointment, they met, and the committee was organised. The different subjects entrusted to them by the Convention have been generally attended

to, and disposed of in the manner detailed in their minutes. In conformity with their instructions, they have prepared a circular address to humane and intelligent individuals and societies, a copy of which accompanies their minutes, to which they have also attached a copy of memorials to some of the state Legislatures, in reference to slavery in the District of Columbia, prepared by a committee of the late Convention.

No subjects of a general nature, of sufficient importance to communicate here, have originated in the committee, or become objects of particular deliberation.

Although the committee is not prepared to report favourably upon the plan of emancipation referred to it, or to offer any other for your consideration, yet the subject generally has often engaged the attention of the members, and of a sub-committee specially charged with its investigation. They deem the speedy and entire emancipation of slaves in our country, a subject of the greatest importance, embracing the primary objects of the Convention, and involving consequences connected with the essential interest and the honour and happiness of the nation. They see that philanthropists in every section of our country and elsewhere, do not cease to give it their earnest attention, and that new light is daily elicited and new views are daily unfolded; and they cannot but hope, that the time is not very distant when we shall better understand a subject, invested at present with difficulties, either essentially connected with it, or arising out of the peculiar construction of government and society in the United States. They do not fear that the Convention will ever lose sight of this primary object, but they would express a hope that the general subject be re-examined at no very distant period. They have not entire confidence in any plan hitherto proposed, but as the subject has lately become much more extensively interesting, we may anticipate more enlightened and feasible expe-

dients for removing from our country one of her greatest enemies, and from the national escutcheon its foulest blot.

The instructions of the Convention to this committee to "investigate the state of slavery in the District of Columbia," were attended to, but in consequence of the indisposition and absence from the city of some members of the sub-committee, they are not prepared to make report.

The liberal offer of President Boyer to the coloured people of the United States, made since the session of the last Convention, was considered by the committee, but they were not disposed to commit the Convention by adopting any measures in relation to that subject.

Respectfully submitted,

By direction of the Committee,

ISAAC BARTON, *Secretary.*

Philadelphia, October 3d, 1825.

The memorial of the American Convention for promoting the Abolition of Slavery, and improving the condition of the African race,

Respectfully Sheweth,

That it has long been a source of deep regret to a large portion of the citizens of the United States, as well as to the friends of human rights and liberty throughout the world, that domestic Slavery, with all its odious features, continues to be tolerated by the national government in the small territory over which the Constitution invests it with exclusive jurisdiction. Your Memorialists are convinced, that a strong simultaneous effort of those who hold this sentiment in different sections of our country, would imperiously engage the attention of Congress to this interesting subject; especially if that effort were sanctioned and directed by the ar-

thority of the different state legislatures. Impressed with this belief, we earnestly solicit your honourable body to use such means as your wisdom and the spirit of our admirable constitution will sanction, in order to remove this national reproach, and vindicate the purity and vigour of our republican institutions from the reproaches of their enemies.

We are only known to foreign states as one great nation, of which the Federal Government is the organ and representative; every state comprising the Union and all its inhabitants, are compelled to endure the *opprobium*, however they may abhor the *guilt* of holding their fellow men in bondage. To permit the existence of slavery within the very sound of the voice of the orator and statesmen, while he is pleading the cause of *Liberty*, or uttering his boast of *American Independence* upon the floor of Congress, is a flagrant inconsistency, which, in the view of foreign nations, attaches equally to Massachusetts and Virginia! We entreat you, therefore, by your regard for justice and the rights of man—by your religion, and the welfare of our common country—by your respect for yourselves and for the honour of your constituents, not to suffer the present session to elapse, without a recorded vote, which shall be *your* witness to posterity, that, if the exclusive territory of the national government remains to be polluted by the footsteps of a slave, it is because *your* exertions in the cause of liberty have been unavailing.

Respectfully, but most earnestly, do your memorialists request your honourable body, seriously to consider this subject; and if it shall appear to you adviseable, let your senators be requested, to bring the subject into the view of the Congress of the United States, enforced with the commanding weight of your recommendation to an early and profound enquiry into the expediency of the measure.

W. RAWLE, *President*

Philadelphia, March, 23, 1825.

The following is a Circular, prepared and issued by the Acting Committee of the Convention, and selected and ordered to be placed upon the Minutes of the Convention:

Respected Friends,

In inviting our fellow citizens to join in the great cause of justice and humanity, it seems almost unnecessary to dwell upon the reasons which should influence their cordial co-operation. It would be an insult to their feelings and understanding, to suppose them unmindful of the rights of their fellow men, or indifferent to the honour of their country; yet it may be well to direct their attention to some of the calamities inseparably connected with slavery, and to strive to awaken the exertions requisite to effect its abolition.

By the Law of Nature, all men are entitled to equal privileges, and, although the artificial distinctions of society may have abrogated it in practice, they are unable to justify the destruction of a right, which claims for the African that freedom which the express and implied will of the Almighty has declared to be inherent in every individual of the human race.

The barbarous policy which sanctified the introduction of slaves into this country, sacrificed the injunctions of Revelation to mercenary ambition, and for temporary interest bestowed a lasting disgrace upon posterity. Time and perseverance may eradicate the evil, which is increasing in importance, and which not only has brought obloquy upon our national character, but threatens to involve us in all the disastrous results of civil discord.

There is nothing in our Republic so deeply calculated to promote sectional jealousy as the existence of slavery. The conflicting policy of slave-holding and non-slave-holding states, will increase with its unhappy cause. We have already seen to what extent it may be carried, and it requires

no effort to imagine consequences, from future excitement, the most dangerous to our political existence. There is also much to be feared, in many States, from the physical superiority of the Black population. The innate principle which so strongly impels to the acquisition of liberty, is, in itself, sufficient to arouse the energies of the slave; but, when the consciousness of numerical power unites with the desire of vengeance, arising from long oppression, the influence of example only, can be wanting to enkindle the exterminating rapacity that usually attends successful insurrection.

One of the strongest reasons that should induce us to exert every power for the suppression of slavery, is the indelible disgrace it brings upon our country. A people, enjoying the utmost limit of rational liberty, who proudly claim the name and rights of freemen, tolerate in their very bosom the most unnatural and cruel bondage. This glaring inconsistency, in part, justifies the sneers which the advocates of arbitrary power are continually casting on the boasted liberality of our political institutions.

We are trying the great experiment, whether liberal Government is best calculated for the happiness of man, and its opposers seize with readiness the argument, that one portion of our population is dependent for its luxuries, and even for its existence on the abject servitude of another. The power of example is lessened, and patriotism turns with disgust from our practical application of that splendid theory, which declares that all men should be free and equal.

The voice of humanity is loud in its appeal for the emancipation of the human race. The connection between slavery and cruelty, which results from the rigid discipline necessary to exact unnatural obedience, is alone sufficient inducement to excite the attention of the Philanthropist. It is degrading to behold the image of God bending under

the brutality of imperious dictation, subject to the caprice of rude and ignorant authority, and liable to ignominious death for seeking that liberty which nature has declared to be equally due to all men.

Is the participation of natural right to be graduated by shades of complexion? Shall one man lead a life of thraldom, because his skin has darkened under a hotter sun? Shall he be the perpetual servant of his fellow man, because deficiency of intellectual power, naturally resulting from a want of education and opportunity, have given him less keenness of perception, disqualified him to stand forth the vindicator of the oppressed, to assert his rights, and demand redress for his injuries? No! We trust that there is a redeeming virtue in our fellow citizens, which will urge them to unite with us in abolishing Domestic Slavery. We invite them, because we believe it to be contradictory to the Law of Nature—in violation of the commands of Christianity—hostile to our political union—dangerous to a portion of our white population—inconsistent with our professed love of liberty—degrading to our national character—and in opposition to the feelings of humanity. Then let not this appalling injustice bring down the wrath of offended Heaven on our country—join with us in the endeavour to benefit mankind, and be determined that your zeal shall not waver, nor your exertions diminish, while a single spot in our land is polluted by a slave.

We respectfully invite a correspondence on the subject of this address, and the communication of such facts as may, from time to time, come to your knowledge.

By order of the Acting Committee of the American Convention for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery, and Improving the condition of the African Race.

OTIS AMMIDON, *Chairman.*

Isaac Barton, *Secretary.*

Philadelphia, March 22d, 1827.